

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

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*The world turns to San Francisco hopefully as the United Nations Conference opens

REDWOOD EMPIRE ASSOCIATION PHOTO

"Most Fateful Conference in History"

THE United Nations Conference on International Organization, one of the most fateful conferences in the history of the world, meets this week in San Francisco under a heavy cloud. The man who, more than any other, had laid the foundations for this great movement to build an enduring peace, is absent from the scene. President Roosevelt, like Lincoln, was claimed by death at the hour of victory and at the beginning of the effort to "bind up the wounds" of war.

But while the late President's voice will not be heard in San Francisco, the inspiration of his acts and counsels will be a living and sustaining force. No confusion of policy will weaken the position of the American delegation, for President Harry S. Truman is a champion of the Roosevelt policies.

The new President's first official act was reassuring. When doubts were expressed as to whether the conference should be held as planned he decided that there should be no postponement—that the unfinished task of uniting the nations in an organization to prevent war should go forward to a successful conclusion.

The outline of the plan to accomplish this purpose was agreed upon

last summer at Dumbarton Oaks. This plan will be developed in more detail at San Francisco and will be submitted to the nations of the world for ratification. Elsewhere in this paper there is a description of the Dumbarton Oaks plan and of the problems which will be discussed in San Francisco.

No one has a right to expect that this conference will do a perfect or completed job. The Constitution which it writes will have to be amended during the years to come, just as our own national Constitution has been. The nations which join the new organization will have to work together for a long time before we can be sure that they will cooperate to keep the peace.

But the establishment of a world organization will make it easier for them to work together in preventing wars, and it may be made a tremendously powerful force for peace. The assembling of the San Francisco conference may, therefore, turn out to be a milestone in human progress.

It should be kept in mind that the work being done at San Francisco is only a part of the program which must be adopted if stability and peace are to prevail in the world. There are many important problems which this

conference does not attempt to deal with. For example, it is not a peace conference. It does not undertake to settle such questions as what shall be done with Germany, how that country shall be governed, what punishments should be inflicted on the war criminals, and scores of other problems which the war will leave in its wake. These problems will be dealt with in other conferences. They will be settled by the nations which have won the war. They are very important problems and the peace of the world, in large measure, will depend upon how wisely they are solved. We must, therefore, watch the conferences which deal with these issues, as well as the San Francisco Conference.

We must understand also that there can be no peace and stability, and no successful practice of democracy unless some of the big economic problems of the world are solved—unless the people of the various countries of the world are lifted above the miserably low standards of living which prevail in so many places. Our State Department is aware of the importance of these problems. In a recent bulletin which it has issued, this statement is made:

"Experts in social problems emphasize that the war has aggravated some bad conditions which existed long before the war.

"Two-thirds of the people on earth never have had enough to eat—though two-thirds of the people work at producing food.

"About 75 per cent of the people of Asia and 30 per cent in advanced industrial countries lived on a diet below a minimum standard of health.

"In some countries, 200 of every 1000 babies born died during the first year.

"Approximately 50 per cent of the adults of the world were unable to read and write.

"The majority of factory workers in the world, including women and children, endured sweatshop conditions at substandard wages."

The permanent organization of nations which is to be set up at San Francisco will serve as an agency for dealing with such problems as these. It must, of course, prevent wars when they threaten, but it may also establish conditions under which peace, progress, and democracy will be encouraged, and the outbreak of international quarrels will be less probable.

The Dumbarton Oaks Charter for Peace

THE task of the representatives of 46 nations who will meet in San Francisco on Wednesday will be to consider the charter for an international organization which was drawn up during a conference held at Dumbarton Oaks—a historic mansion in Washington, D. C.—between August 21 and October 7, 1944. The charter was drafted and accepted by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China. This plan was submitted to all the United Nations and has since been widely studied by the governments and the peoples of the countries to be represented at San

Assembly will meet on an average of once a year to discuss and act upon all sorts of world problems—relief needs, international air routes, world trade and other social and economic problems, and threats to peace. As shown by the chart on this page, there will be a number of councils, commissions, and other organizations to deal with specific problems in the field of international cooperation.

The Assembly may "discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it." In actual practice, however, the Assembly will have little

Should these measures fail, the Council may go further. It may order a blockade of the country which threatens the peace or may call upon air, land, or naval forces of the member nations to use force against it. Each member nation would agree, in advance, as to the forces they would make available to the Council for action against a peace-disturbing nation.

How these armed forces would be used would be determined by a Military Staff Committee, composed of the chiefs of staff of the United States, Great Britain, Russia, China, and

any one of the Big Five. If, for any reason, one of the Big Five wished to protect a small nation from the use of force, it could block that course of action, too. Naturally, this is one of the most hotly debated features of the plan (see page 3).

The third branch of the proposed United Nations organization is an international court of justice. During the last two weeks there has been an advance meeting of experts on international law to draw up a plan for the court which is to be presented to the San Francisco conference. Instead of starting from scratch, the experts have been building upon the framework of the Permanent Court of International Justice, popularly known as the World Court, which operated at The Hague during the period between the two wars. All members of the United Nations would automatically join the proposed court.

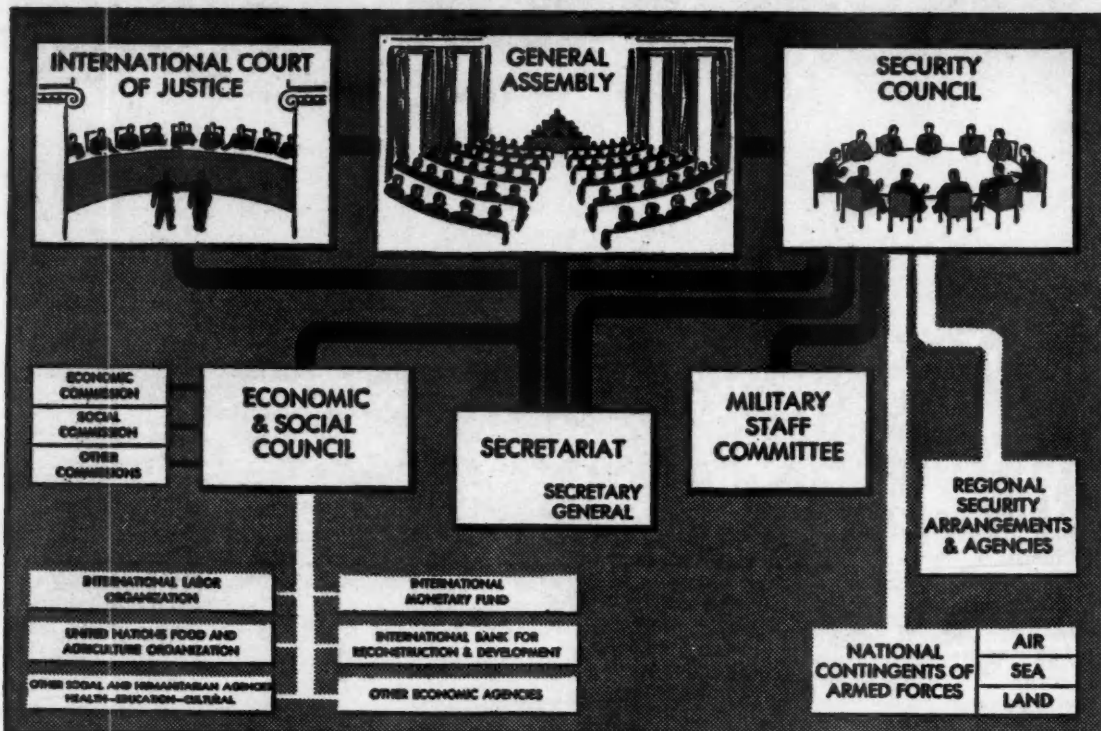
Function of Court

The principal function of the court would be to decide such matters as the interpretation of treaties and points of international law in disputes between nations. Thus, the court would hand down decisions or opinions in cases where points of international law, or the interpretation of law, were involved. In this way it would serve as a valuable aid to the Security Council or the Assembly in determining the legal aspects involved in disputes which might threaten the peace.

The fourth branch of the proposed United Nations organization is to be the Secretariat, composed of a secretary general and a staff of workers. The Secretariat would be a permanent organization and would serve as the main administrative branch of the entire United Nations security league. It would prepare the reports, handle the details of meetings, and perform such other duties as the other branches of the organization would decide.

This is the framework of the United Nations organization as drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks last summer and fall. The charter contained many other provisions dealing with methods of dealing with problems of the peace. For example, there is nothing in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals which conflicts with the existence of regional arrangements designed to preserve the peace—such as the Pan-American Union and other inter-American organizations which have been set up for the specific purpose of dealing with problems of the Western Hemisphere. It is stipulated, however, that no regional arrangements, or agreements between two countries, must conflict with the basic principles of the United Nations organization.

While the original members of the United Nations will be only those countries which have declared war upon the Axis, provision is made for the eventual membership of the nations which have remained neutral in the war—especially Sweden, Portugal, Switzerland. Spain remains in a special class because of the help she has given the Axis. Later, the defeated Axis nations—Germany, Italy, and Japan, and their small partners—can join the organization if they prove their desire for peace. But the enemy nations will not be considered eligible for membership until they have undergone a long testing period to prove their sincerity.



The United Nations security organization proposed at Dumbarton Oaks

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Francisco. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals are being officially examined at the conference. Changes or amendments may be made and a final agreement is expected to be reached.

The Dumbarton Oaks conferees agreed that an international organization, to be known as *The United Nations*, should be established "to maintain international peace and security." The organization should include "all peace-loving" nations. The nations who are represented at San Francisco are those which have declared war upon the Axis, 46 in all. Because of her past pro-Axis policies, Argentina has not been invited, despite the fact that her government has now declared war upon the Axis. The request that Poland be invited has not been granted. If these two countries should send representatives, the total number present will be 48.

Four Main Branches

The United Nations organization would consist of four principal branches or organs: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an international court of justice, and a Secretariat.

The General Assembly will consist of representatives of all the nations belonging to the security organization. (Russia, however, has asked for three seats or votes—one each for White Russia and the Ukraine (see *THE AMERICAN OBSERVER*, April 16). The

power to recommend action against a nation which threatens the peace. Responsibility in this field is lodged with the Security Council.

The Security Council, which is to hold the real power of the United Nations, is to be composed of 11 members. Five nations will have permanent seats on the Council—the United States, Great Britain, Russia, China, and France. The remaining six seats will be divided among the other nations and will be filled by the General Assembly. Every year the Assembly will elect three members for a two-year term. In this way, the six seats will be rotated among the smaller nations.

The Council is given primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. It is to be so organized as to be able to function continuously. It has power to investigate any dispute which may lead to war. If the nations involved do not settle the dispute by peaceful means, the Council has the power to take whatever action it deems necessary against the nation which threatens the peace.

At first, the Council would take nonmilitary action against an offending nation. It could cut off all communications with the would-be aggressor, sever diplomatic relations, stop trade, or take whatever action it saw fit in order to bring that nation into line.

France. It is proposed that air force units of the member nations be immediately available for use in emergencies.

On ordinary matters coming before the Security Council, decision can be made by a vote of seven of the 11 members. By a similar vote, the Council can investigate a dispute between nations, or can investigate any situation which may lead to war. And if nations with seats on the Council are involved in a dispute, they may not vote when a decision is made to recommend what to do.

Veto Power

But when it comes to enforcing the decisions of the Council, a different procedure is to be followed. Then all five permanent members must agree unanimously before either military or nonmilitary steps can be taken. Even though 10 of the 11 nations of the Council might favor the use of force to preserve peace, any one of the big powers could block such action. That big nation could do so even though it might be the country guilty of having started the dispute.

In other words, the power of the world organization cannot be used against any of the Big Five nations without its consent—which, of course, would never be given. The Security Council could only make recommendations, but could not call upon the United Nations to use force against

Big Issues Confronting the United Nations

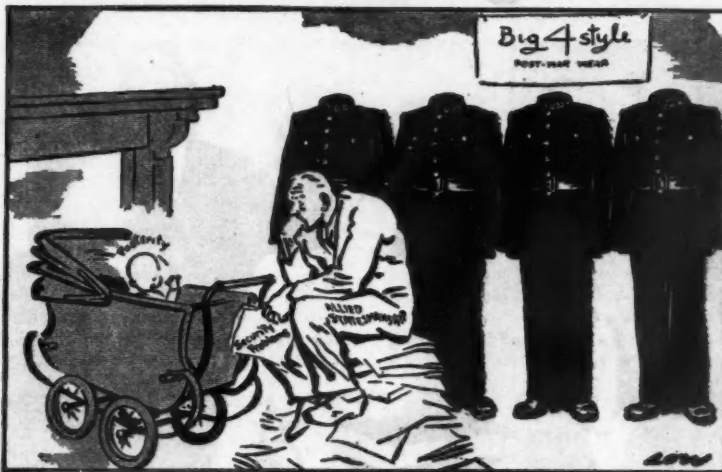
SINCE the publication of the Dumbarton Oaks plan of world organization, the specific proposals have been widely debated throughout the world. That particular plan, it has been emphasized, was a *proposal* and consequently tentative in nature. While that proposal will be the basis of discussion at San Francisco, it is likely that a number of changes will be made in the charter which is finally drafted at the United Nations Conference on International Organization. Some of the principal issues which have been raised over the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are the following:

Big versus small nations. The Dumbarton Oaks plan has been criticized on the ground that it places too much power in the hands of the powerful nations; that is, the Big Five who will have permanent seats on the Security Council. It has been argued that, in effect, the proposed organization may become a dictatorship of the Big Powers, who will use its machinery to dominate the world in their own interests.

It is indeed true that the plan as drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks does place the major power and responsibility for preserving the peace in the hands of the Security Council. The General Assembly, in which all members of the United Nations will have seats, is given practically no voice in deciding when force shall be used against a nation which threatens the peace of the world. Decisions involving the use of force or other measures to insure peace are to be left almost exclusively in the hands of the Council.

It is also true that the Big Five can at any time exercise an absolute veto against any proposal to use force. According to the voting procedure agreed upon at the Yalta conference, force cannot be employed against any nation unless all five permanent members vote in favor of it. Hence, if any one of the five nations should itself become an aggressor—or threaten to become one—the Council would be powerless to act against it. This fact is clearly recognized by all students of the Dumbarton Oaks plan. As Vera Micheles Dean clearly states the issue in a recent *Headline Book*, *After Victory* . . . :

We must face the fact, unpleasant as it may seem, that at this stage of international affairs there is no authority in the world capable of stopping the great powers if they choose to go on a rampage. The great powers alone can curb each other and, of course, if things should come to that pass, it will mean that the great powers will be at war with each other. The only safeguard against mis-



"And who's to police the policeman, Daddy?"

use of power by Britain, the United States, Russia, China, and France—and especially the first three—is a sense of responsibility on their part not only for their own natural national interests, but also for the welfare of the international community as a whole. Without such a sense of responsibility, it will be impossible to make the machinery projected at Dumbarton Oaks—or any machinery of collaboration—really work.

While the power of the Big Five will be overwhelming in the security organization, it will not be absolute. For example, they will not be able to impose their will upon the small nations because, on all votes in the Security Council, at least seven members must be in agreement. This means that at least *two* of the nonpermanent members, or two small nations, must favor the action.

The issues affecting the relationships between the big and the small powers will be debated at the San Francisco conference. There will be proposals for amendments in the charter to grant the smaller nations greater power. One of these will be that the General Assembly be given a voice in determining when action shall be taken against an aggressor.

Another suggestion which has been made since the publication of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals is that the *middle powers*, nations such as Canada and Brazil, which are in between the big nations and the small ones in military and economic strength, should be given greater responsibility and be granted greater authority in decisions about the maintenance of peace.

Senator Vandenberg and other members of the American delegation have suggested that the charter to be drawn up at San Francisco place greater emphasis upon the establish-

ment of justice and upon the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. There is a strong movement to have these principles incorporated into the preamble to the charter, thus setting forth an international bill of rights as a goal of the United Nations. If this suggestion is followed, the members of the organization, large nations and small, would assume a moral obligation to respect the rights of individuals as well as of nations.

Power of U. S. Delegate. This issue applies solely to the United States and is simply this: Can the American delegate to the Security Council commit this country to use armed force against an aggressor without having the matter voted upon by Congress? There are many who believe that if our influence is to be truly effective, the American delegate to the Council must be given the right to vote in favor of action without referring the matter to Congress.

On the other hand, many are opposed to granting the American delegate such power and argue that since the Constitution grants Congress exclusive power to declare war, all decisions involving the use of force, should be referred to our national legislature. Many compromise suggestions have been made by prominent Americans and a decision will have to be made by Congress. It is an issue which will not be debated at San Francisco but which will deeply influence the role America is to play in the United Nations organization.

Dependent Areas. What shall be the relations of the powerful nations with the backward regions of the world? Shall the big powers keep their colonial empires and even expand them by taking over the colonial possessions of Italy and Japan? Or, shall some form of international trusteeship, administered by the security league as a whole, be set up after the war. These are vital questions which will be debated at San Francisco.

On few issues is world opinion more sharply divided than on this question of dependent areas. There are many Americans, including Fleet Admiral King and other high-ranking Navy and Army men, who believe that future American security depends upon our taking over and annexing Japan's Pacific holdings—the Marshall, Caroline, Marianas, Volcano, and Bonin Islands—and use them as permanent defense bases. The French are demanding parts of the Italian empire

in Africa—Eritrea and Libya—as compensation for Italy's attack upon France.

Those who oppose this solution point to the fact that it would regard these territories as spoils of war and would constitute a violation of the Atlantic Charter which pledges all the United Nations not to seek "aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise."

If this problem is solved by the trusteeship principle, these colonies, and perhaps other colonial possessions, would be held by the community of nations. Under such a plan, the United States might actually govern the former Japanese Pacific colonies, but it would do so under the supervision of the United Nations organization, and it would be continually responsible to the international body. And the United States could not regard the islands as its own property, but would be required to share the defense bases with other nations which needed them.

A form of international trusteeship was tried after the last war in the League of Nations mandate system, which was applied to the former colonies of Germany and Turkey. Under this plan, the League assigned Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq, and some of the German African colonies to Britain to "administer" or govern; it gave similar responsibility to France in Syria, Lebanon, and some of the African territories; and the former German Pacific islands were divided



The key they must use for peace

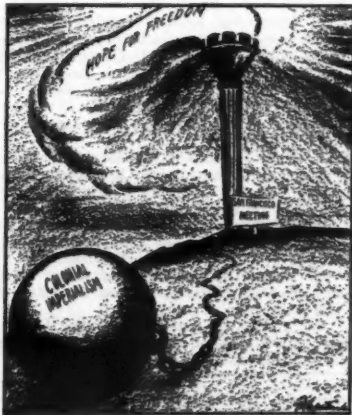
among Japan, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand.

The mandate system was only partially successful. The large nations tended to consider the mandates as their own private property and violated the rules established by the League for their administration. Many of Japan's strongest naval bases in the Pacific, for example, were located on islands which she held under mandate from the League of Nations. If the "trusteeship" principle is to be adopted at San Francisco, certain safeguards would have to be worked out to prevent similar abuses in the future.

These are but a few of the big issues which must be threshed out at the San Francisco conference. If a satisfactory solution is to be worked out, there will have to be many compromises all along the line, for no nation, large or small, is likely to get everything it wants. There will have to be a willingness on the part of all to sacrifice something of their own national objectives in the interest of achieving the greater goal of building the machinery which will effectively deal with threats to peace.



Nobody expected it to be perfect



Trusteeship or spoils of war?

The Story of the Week

President Truman

This week President Harry S. Truman faces the first great test of his abilities as a national leader as he carries on the work begun by President Roosevelt and guides American decisions at San Francisco. It is a task he is prepared for. In his brief period as Vice President, he was very close to the President, and became intimately acquainted with his plans and decisions.

Besides following through on President Roosevelt's foreign policies, the new chief executive intends to carry out the basic policies his predecessor had instituted at home. During his career as a senator, Truman was a staunch supporter of President Roosevelt, and was in agreement with him on most major issues.

Truman's experience in the Senate is expected to prove extremely helpful to him in his new role. Understanding the temper of Congress, he may be able to close the rift which has been between it and the executive department in recent years.

Mine Agreement

The new agreement between the nation's soft coal miners and their employers came before the War Labor Board at a time when wage stabilization posed particularly complicated problems. On one hand, it is clearly necessary to keep inflation in check as we approach the transition to a peacetime economy. Preventing wage increases is essential to the control of inflation. But the end of the war in Europe promises to cut off much of the overtime pay which has raised the total income of most workers during the war period.

The coal contract is technically acceptable under the Little Steel Formula because it does not provide for a raise in basic wage rates. It does, however, give the miners more money, by allowing them larger portal to portal pay (pay covering the time spent going from mine entrance to actual place of work) and more generous overtime pay. Altogether, it will mean an increase of more than \$1 a day for most miners.

As we go to press, the War Labor



As his wife and daughter looked on, Harry S. Truman was sworn in as the thirty-second President of the United States shortly after the death of President Roosevelt.

Board, the Office of Price Administration, and War Mobilization Director William H. Davis are still trying to determine whether the miners' contract involves a hidden violation of the Little Steel Formula. It will make necessary an increase in the price of coal, which, in turn, will affect the prices of many other commodities. This fact is bound to influence the decision on the contract.

Finishing the Job

All over liberated Europe, there are still many pockets of resistance—little German strongholds which have been bypassed in the onward sweep of our campaigns. There are the Channel Islands just off the coast of Britain. In France, there are Lorient, St. Nazaire, La Rochelle, and Dunkirk. Behind our lines in Germany, there are Bremen, Hannover, and large sections of the Ruhr. And in Holland, Vienna, Poland, the Baltic states, and Norway, strong German garrisons are still entrenched. These forces may surrender without further fighting. If they decide to hold out, it may be several months before warfare actually ends in Europe.

Also, many fear that the Nazis may retreat to the mountains of southern Germany and Austria and harass our

forces with guerrilla warfare. The rugged Alpine terrain would make it difficult for us to combat this type of resistance. But Allied strategists are trying to prevent it by cutting off avenues of escape for the beaten Nazis. The campaign in Italy, and Russian operations in Austria are directed toward this end.

Freeing Hitler's Slaves

Not the least of our current problems in Germany is dealing with the millions of foreign workers and prisoners formerly held captive by the Nazis. The plight of these people is desperate. Most of them are suffering from malnutrition and ill treatment. All are eager to return home.

Providing relief for the displaced persons in Germany and arranging for their return home is a task of tremendous difficulty. They represent a weird jumble of nationalities, and our military government officers are often handicapped by language barriers. Mass transportation of these people to their own countries is impossible because of snarls in the transportation system throughout Europe.

At present, military government au-

thorities are concentrating on relief for the newly freed foreign peoples in Germany. Quarantining them in some of the labor camps used by the Germans, they are rushing food and medical supplies to them. As soon as possible, transportation will be arranged for their return home.

Franco Backtracks

Spain's tardy break with Japan is clearly designed to soften Allied resentment of her long collaboration with the Axis in Europe. At this late date, General Franco cannot hope for a voice in the peace settlement. What he is bargaining for is to prevent the United Nations from exerting pressure which might topple his unpopular regime from power.

For the Allies have a long list of grievances against Franco. He sent troops to fight the Russians. He sponsored subversive propaganda in South America and permitted enemy agents to use Spain as a headquarters for espionage. And he supplied the Germans with vital war materials as long as he possibly could.

Movie on Intolerance

Intolerance toward members of minority groups is a violation of those ideals of liberty for which our nation is now fighting. So declares a wounded veteran when he returns to his home town to find that a neighborhood gang has violently attacked his father because the father, a naturalized citizen, speaks English with a foreign accent. This incident raises the disturbing central problem of the new documentary film, *It Happened in Springfield*, produced by Warner Brothers.

The soldier asks: What can be done about it? A young woman replies, "We must educate all Americans, when they are young, to realize that intolerance is un-American. Many schools are already doing this. Come over to Springfield, Massachusetts, where I teach, and I'll show you how we do it there." The remainder of the film is devoted to scenes in the Springfield schools.

Questions from the News

1. Tell of some of the important preliminary steps taken to prepare the way for the San Francisco conference.
2. What name has been proposed for the international security organization being planned at the conference?
3. What are some of the steps in international cooperation which must be taken in addition to a security league if lasting peace is to be insured?
4. According to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, what would be the main functions of the following: 1. General Assembly. 2. Security Council. 3. Secretariat.
5. What voting procedure would be used in the Security Council?
6. On what ground has this procedure been criticized?
7. What is meant by the principle of "trusteeship" as applied to international organization? Cite an example of how it might be applied.
8. What issue has arisen in connection with the powers of the American delegate to the proposed peace organization?
9. Name the delegates of Great Britain, France, Russia, China, and five of the American delegates.
10. Give two reasons why the League of Nations failed to preserve the peace after the last war.

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Scene from "It Happened in Springfield"

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Anthony Eden

V. M. Molotov

T. V. Soong

Georges Bidault

Personalities at San Francisco

THE delegates to the International Security Conference in San Francisco are undertaking a grave responsibility. The men and women who meet there will be called upon to make decisions which may determine the future of civilization as we know it. Many of the world's leading personalities have been selected by their governments as delegates.

The senior member of our delegation, Cordell Hull, became known all over the world during the eventful years when he served as Secretary of State. Unfortunately the illness which made his retirement from public life necessary will probably prevent more than a token appearance at the conference. His chosen successor, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., is expected to follow many of the policies which Hull handed down to him.

A key figure in the American delegation will be Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan. He is a powerful member of the Republican Party who may be in a position to determine whether the decisions reached at San Francisco will be supported by the majority of Republican senators. He has drawn up a systematic list of amendments to the United Nations charter to be considered by the American delegation.

Vandenberg's record shows that he has become progressively more in favor of international cooperation. He assumed a position of leadership in international affairs in January when he proposed immediate United States participation in guaranteeing the demilitarization of Germany and Japan.

The position held by Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, differs from Vandenberg's in that he has thus far been content to support the President and the State Department. He has shown no desire to determine the policy which the United States will follow at the San Francisco conference. A Texas Democrat, Connally has not always seen eye to eye with the New Dealers on domestic policies but he has usually devoted his oratorical and dramatic abilities to getting the Administration's international projects through the hurly-burly of Senate debate.

Connally has spent 26 of his 67 years as a member of either the House Foreign Affairs or the Senate Foreign Relations committee. As a pioneer supporter of world organization he was an early devotee of Woodrow Wilson's policies.

Sol Bloom, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, represents an entirely different cross-section of America. He is a millionaire New Yorker who has been a member of the House of Representatives since 1923. He has been a strong supporter

of Franklin Roosevelt and has combined an ardent Americanism with consistent leadership in the movement toward world cooperation.

Bloom's place on the American delegation is a source of much satisfaction to him, for he feels that the House of Representatives should have more influence on foreign affairs, with the power of joint ratification of treaties.

Another supporter of Administration foreign policy is Charles A. Eaton, ranking Republican member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Before his election to Congress from New Jersey in 1924 he had been a nationally known Baptist minister. Born in Nova Scotia 77 years ago, Eaton became a special correspondent for newspapers in the United States and for the *London Times*. He chose foreign relations as his field when he entered the House and has become an influential figure in determining Republican international policy.

The youngest American delegate to the conference is Commander Harold E. Stassen, flag secretary to Admiral Halsey in the Pacific. Now only 37 years old, he began his political career at the University of Minnesota where he was a champion debater and orator, all-university class president, and the first chairman of the Young Republican League. In 1938, when he was 31, he became the youngest man ever elected to the governorship of Minnesota.

Stassen soon achieved a reputation as a liberal and his success in handling labor relations in his own state brought him national recognition. Today, however, he is better known for his outspoken support of world cooperation. He would go further than the other delegates in supporting the creation of a strong world organization, but he is prepared to compromise to get unanimity.

The one woman member of the delegation is Virginia Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard College, Columbia University, in New York City. She received her appointment in 1911 at the age of 33. A reserved but brilliant woman, she has helped organize and direct a number of international groups interested in education. Her years of experience in working with leaders of other nations and in setting up the constitutional framework for international cooperation in her own field should be most useful in her present assignment.

Among the representatives of other nations who have visited the United States in the past is Anthony Eden, Britain's foreign secretary. Eden has become recognized as an authority on Europe and its problems since he was made undersecretary for foreign affairs in 1931. Having previously

served as a member of Parliament he has a solid background in the practical problems of his own government as well.

Although he is only 47 years old, Eden is generally considered the Number 2 man in the British government. He has held many important appointments during the last 10 years and is now Leader of the House of Commons, which puts him in direct line for the Prime Ministry. Throughout the years leading up to the war he fought for strong measures against the dictators. When he became convinced that no effective action would be taken, he resigned from the Chamberlain cabinet in February, 1938. He returned as head of the Foreign office when Churchill came to power in 1940.

V. M. Molotov, 55-year-old Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, will be Russia's top delegate. His presence will represent an important compromise on the part of Stalin, who first picked Andrei Gromyko, Russian Ambassador to the United States, to head that country's delegation.

Since all other countries were sending their highest-ranking foreign offi-

he has been described by Anthony Eden as the ablest French foreign minister with whom he has ever dealt.

Bidault, who is only 45, is a veteran of the First World War, after which he achieved the highest degree in French education and taught history and economics in various schools in France. He also edited the liberal Catholic newspaper, *L'Aube* (The Dawn). He applied for front-line duty when war broke out again, was captured by the Germans but released in July, 1941.

He immediately joined the resistance movement, was sent to Lyon where he became a teacher and active fighter against the Germans. Forced to go underground, he finally returned to Paris and became president of the National Resistance Council.

Dr. T. V. Soong, head of the Chinese delegation, is a 51-year-old Harvard graduate who is well known in Washington. Now Acting President of the Executive Yuan (Branch) of the Chinese government, Dr. Soong has been the most influential man in Chinese financial affairs since his appointment as Finance Minister in the Kuomintang government in 1928. Two weeks after Pearl Harbor he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which capacity he has represented China on the Pacific War Council.

Soong has frequently been at odds with Chiang Kai-shek despite the fact that Madame Chiang is his sister. Another sister was the wife of Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Chinese Republic, and a third is the wife of H. H. Kung, now vice president of the Executive Yuan.

The man who might be called the godfather of the San Francisco conference is Jan Christiaan Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa. On May 24 of this year he will be 75 years old, and will have participated in the two great movements toward world organ-



THE AMERICAN DELEGATION. Left to right: Dean Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard College; Rep. Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee; Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.; Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg; Rep. Charles A. Eaton; Commander Harold Stassen. Former Secretary Hull, also a delegate, was not present at this meeting.

cials to San Francisco, it was considered a slight for the Russians not to do the same. But Stalin held out. After Roosevelt's death, however, he yielded to President Truman's request that Molotov attend the conference.

Molotov is one of the original Communists. For a number of years he has been Stalin's right-hand man in shaping and putting into effect Russia's foreign policy.

French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault is even less well known in this country than Russia's Gromyko, but

ization—the League of Nations and the present effort at San Francisco.

Smuts was born a British subject in the Cape of Good Hope, the son of Dutch farmers. He rose to a position of military and political leadership early in life and was successful in his efforts to secure Anglo-Boer (South African Dutch) cooperation. With Woodrow Wilson he drafted many of the clauses in the Covenant of the League of Nations and his greatest disappointment in life came when the United States rejected the League.



Dumbarton Oaks, 1944

COURTESY SCOTT FORESMAN

United Nations Conferences

BEHIND the San Francisco Conference is a long series of international meetings at which United Nations representatives worked out agreements on particular aspects of war and postwar policy. Many of the most important were meetings of the heads of the big United Nations governments—President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, Marshal Stalin, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Others brought together representatives of both large and small United Nations. All helped to cement the friendship of the Allied powers and thus paved the way for agreement and cooperation on the most important issue of all—the setting up of an international organization to prevent future wars.

Here are some of the historic United Nations meetings which preceded the San Francisco Conference:

North Atlantic, August 1941. The United States was not yet at war when President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill met for the first time, but this country, recognizing that Britain's survival was essential to American security, had already begun contributing to the war against the Axis by sending military supplies to Britain. Meeting aboard a warship, the two leaders drew up the set of principles known as The Atlantic Charter.

Washington, December 1941. Soon after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor plunged the United States into the war, Churchill sped across the Atlantic for his second meeting with President Roosevelt. At the White House in Washington, the two laid overall plans for military cooperation between the United States and Britain.

Out of this meeting, also, came final plans for bringing together the countries fighting the Axis—under the name "United Nations." The signatures of Roosevelt and Churchill head the list on the pact called the "Declaration by United Nations."

London, November 1942. As the war increased in scope, United Nations leaders realized that the postwar world would need a large-scale program of educational rehabilitation. At the suggestion of the British government, representatives of 10 United Nations and unofficial observers from eight others met in London to survey

the prospects for international cooperation in restoring education after the war.

They worked to promote the idea of an educational organization affiliated with the postwar peace organization of the United Nations. At a subsequent meeting of the Education Conference in April 1944, the United States gave a measure of approval to the idea by sending its first official delegation.

Casablanca, January 1943. Two months after American forces landed in North Africa, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill met at this coastal city in French Morocco. Here they announced "unconditional surrender" as the only basis on which the United Nations would end the war against the Axis. They also tried to bring about greater unity among the leaders of Free France through a division of power between General de Gaulle and General Giraud.

Bermuda, April 1943. Hoping to work out some plan for helping the millions of people driven from their homes by the war in Europe, the United States and Britain sent delegations to Bermuda to consider the problem of refugees. The conferees agreed upon a tentative plan for relocating a limited number of European refugees in French North Africa, Libya, and Ethiopia.

Hot Springs, May 1943. The United Nations Food Conference was the first attempt of the nations fighting the Axis to solve a common problem through discussions at which all of them were represented. Delegates from 45 United Nations met at this Virginia resort, agreed on a series of principles, and set up an Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture for the United Nations.

The Interim Commission was to advise United Nations governments on ways of expanding food production and arranging food distribution best to further the war effort. It was also to work toward the establishment of a permanent Food and Agriculture Organization affiliated with the United Nations.

Quebec, August 1943. With the tide turning toward an Allied victory in Europe, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill began to make plans for stepping up the war against Japan. At Quebec, they also

studied the future strategy of the war against Hitler.

Moscow, October 1943. As a prelude to future meetings of the top political leaders of the United Nations, the foreign ministers of the United States, Britain, and Russia met with a representative of China in the Soviet capital. Besides laying the groundwork for a three-power conference at which the final strategy of the war in Europe would be planned, they discussed the establishment of an international organization to preserve peace. They also discussed ways of improving their collaboration in the war against Hitler.

Atlantic City, November 1943. Here the United Nations took the first concrete steps toward nonmilitary cooperation by forming the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Choosing Herbert H. Lehman to head the new international relief organization, delegates from 44 United Nations mapped out an extensive program for bringing relief to the war-torn nations of the world.

They agreed to send aid to the needy in all Allied countries without discrimination. Aid was to be sent to Axis countries if they could pay for it. Russia, too, was to pay for the goods she received. To finance their activities, they planned to raise a fund of \$2,500,000,000 by assessing each member nation which had not been invaded by the enemy one per cent of its national income.

Cairo, November 1943. At this first meeting of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Chiang Kai-shek, it was agreed that after the total defeat of Japan, all the lands taken through Japanese aggression would be taken from her. Roosevelt, Churchill, and Chiang also promised Korea her independence after the war.

Teheran, December 1943. Some of the most important decisions of the war period were made at this first meeting of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. The Big Three endorsed the outstanding decisions reached at Moscow and made their final plans for the European phase of the war.

They discussed military strategy—particularly the second front which was to be opened the following June in France—and reached a broad general agreement about the part each of their countries would play in the ad-

ministration of European affairs during the process of liberation. Since they were meeting on Iranian soil, they also took the opportunity to assure Iran that she could count on an independent future.

Bretton Woods, July 1944. Acting on the idea that postwar economic cooperation among the United Nations will be necessary if future wars are to be prevented, monetary experts from 44 Allied nations met to form a plan for improving international economic relations. They decided on the establishment of an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development through which world trade would be simplified and fostered. The bank would also make it easier for nations to borrow money for reconstruction purposes. In addition, they proposed an International Monetary Fund which would be used in stabilizing the money systems of the various nations.

Dumbarton Oaks, August 1944. This was the most important United Nations conference leading up to the San Francisco meeting. Meeting in Washington, Allied representatives agreed on the basic principles of international cooperation and planned for a future meeting at which the final details of the new world peace organization would be ironed out.

Quebec, September 1944. Roosevelt and Churchill discussed some of the problems which were arising as the war in Europe entered its final stage—stepping up the fight against Japan, clarifying Allied policy in Italy, and so on. A month later Churchill flew to Moscow to talk with Stalin about similar problems—particularly those which had arisen in connection with Poland and Yugoslavia.

Chicago, November 1944. Knowing the importance of aviation in the postwar world, representatives of 50 Allied and associated governments met to work out a unified policy on air transport after the war. They endorsed the idea of freedom of the air—the right of all nations to send nonmilitary planes over the territories of others—and set up a provisional advisory council on aviation. They also agreed on a code of technical standards for aviation. The groundwork for a series of international agreements on civil aviation was laid at this conference.

Yalta, February 1945. At the momentous Crimea Conference of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Marshal Stalin, the Big Three United Nations proclaimed their intention of working together to finish the war and establish a lasting peace. They endorsed the international organization planned tentatively at Dumbarton Oaks and declared themselves in favor of working out final details of its formation as soon as possible. In addition, they promised to cooperate in administering defeated Germany and in guaranteeing democratic governments to the people of liberated Europe.

Mexico City, February 1945. This conference of American foreign ministers did for the Western Hemisphere what the various United Nations conferences have done on a world scale. It brought about a declaration of solidarity and mutual aid against aggression in the Act of Chapultepec. It also paved the way for close economic cooperation among the American nations after the war. In addition, it succeeded in bringing Argentina into the circle of anti-Axis powers by indicating that the entire hemisphere stood united against her if she persisted in policies of noncooperation.

The Long Struggle for World Peace

THE San Francisco conference is one of the many attempts which mankind has made to find a way to prevent war. The pages of history are filled with plans which have been made to stop armed conflict. For every plan that has been tried, scores of additional methods of preventing war have been suggested. But none of the plans has been successful, and now, once more, the world is struggling to remove the scourge of war.

Throughout history, there have been two theories about the best way to preserve peace. One of these—attempted several times—has been to impose peace by bringing large sections of the world together under a single political control. That has been the method of conquest. Alexander the Great, Charlemagne, and Napoleon all tried it.

The other method of seeking to prevent war has been through voluntary association of different political units—the method of cooperation. The most ambitious attempt of this kind was made after the First World War through the machinery of the League of Nations.

Perhaps the earliest example of an association set up to preserve peace is to be found among the ancient Greeks. At one time, they formed what was known as the Amphictyonic League, a council of 12 tribes which met once a year for the purpose of settling quarrels and punishing offenders. In a rather primitive form, this was an experiment in collective security, or united action to put down aggression. But the League broke up in disagreement, which resulted in a war lasting 10 years.

Alexander the Great sought to pacify the world by conquest. A large part of the civilized world of his day was brought under his political control—Egypt, Persia, Babylonia, Greece, and other territories. But the foundations of his empire were not solid and his plans of unifying the world, preventing wars, and promoting commerce soon fell to the ground.

The Romans succeeded in bringing most of Europe, Africa, and the Near East into their vast and sprawling empire. They built roads, spread their language and customs, and preserved order throughout their domain. This Roman Peace, or "Pax Romana" as it is called, was administered with a firm and often ruthless hand. It aroused considerable opposition, particularly among the early Christians, who dreamed of an orderly world based upon the principle of brotherly love. In time, the Roman Empire fell apart and the civilized world divided into many political units.

In the ninth century, the Emperor Charlemagne succeeded in bringing the greater part of the continent of Europe under his control, but he too failed to establish permanent peace, for after his death the continent divided into warring nations. The thousand years which passed between Charlemagne and Napoleon were filled with wars, followed by many experiments to find the solution to war, all of which ended in failure.

Napoleon, whose brilliant military conquests at one time placed him in control of a large part of Europe, ended his days in complete defeat. The victorious nations of Europe then sought to preserve the peace through the Holy Alliance, formed by the em-

perors of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The Holy Alliance was determined to restore the governments which had been in power before the rise of Napoleon and to resist social and economic change—to put down the ideas which had been generated by the French Revolution.

These were a few of the major efforts to keep the peace by uniting large areas under a single control. In each case, however, the rule of strong leadership did not last. Such rule was usually established by war, and it aroused the hostility of subject peoples whose lives and freedom were

League was to bring the nations together so that they could act jointly when the peace was threatened.

The failure of the League of Nations is one of the great tragedies of history. The reasons for its failure are numerous and cannot be laid at the doorstep of any nation or group. It was probably doomed to failure at the outset because of the refusal of the United States to become a member. Without American participation, it was impossible effectively to organize the peace upon a strong basis. But the United States Senate was unable to obtain the necessary

nothing, and the other aggressor nations were soon able to start on their paths of conquest without fear of punishment.

At San Francisco, one more attempt is being made to organize the peace of the world. San Francisco itself is thus but a step in a long and difficult process. Many of these steps have already been taken and there will be many more to follow the conference itself. The mere fact that the San Francisco conference is being held at all is a victory for those who have fought for an international organization to preserve peace, for the meeting is the result of great effort.

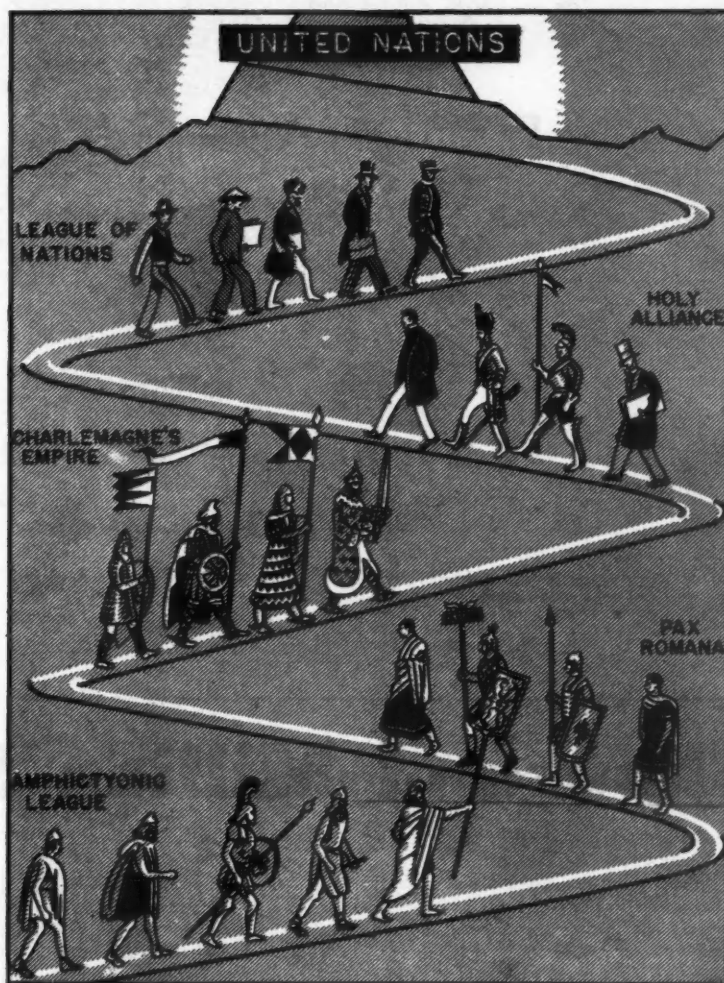
First, there had to be agreement among the major Allies that they would work together to preserve peace as they had united to win the war. This agreement in principle was obtained in Moscow, in 1943, at the meeting of the American, British, and Russian foreign ministers, and has been restated at the meetings of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Premier Stalin.

The next step toward the realization of the objective came at Dumbarton Oaks last summer and fall when the principle of cooperation was translated into a concrete plan for an international organization. Here, the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China were able to agree upon the principles of a charter for a permanent organization of the United Nations. Now, at San Francisco, 46 nations are going over the plan worked out at Dumbarton Oaks and, if the conference is successful, will work out a detailed charter and sign an agreement.

The San Francisco agreement will not automatically set up the United Nations security organization and make the nations which sign it members. The agreement must have the official approval of all the governments, and the method of approval will vary with the different countries. The Soviet Union, for example, will become a member when Stalin, or someone authorized by him, signs the agreement. Prime Minister Churchill, or someone authorized by him, may sign for Britain and make that country a member. The British Parliament need not approve, although Churchill may request that it do so to demonstrate that Britain is wholeheartedly behind the plan.

Most of the nations, in fact, will become members when the treaty is signed by the heads of their governments, or by men representing the leaders. The various parliaments (in those nations which have national legislatures) will either not participate at all or will give their consent without much question.

A notable exception to this procedure will take place in the United States. Since the agreement is to be considered a treaty, it must be approved by two-thirds of the Senate. It makes no difference if a majority in the Senate, a majority in the House of Representatives, and a majority of the American people favor the plan. One-third of the senators who are voting, plus one, can kill the treaty and make American participation impossible. Hence, the big test will come when the San Francisco conference concludes its work and the plan worked out there is presented to our Senate.



Will we reach the top this time?

seriously affected. Few attempts were made to organize the peace along lines of justice, democracy, or freedom.

The most ambitious program to organize the peace upon the basis of cooperation among the nations of the world was undertaken at the conclusion of the First World War. During that conflict, which brought greater destruction and loss of life than the world had ever known up to that time, many people throughout the world called for an organization which would undertake to prevent future wars. So prominent was this idea that one of the slogans of that conflict was: "It is a war to end war."

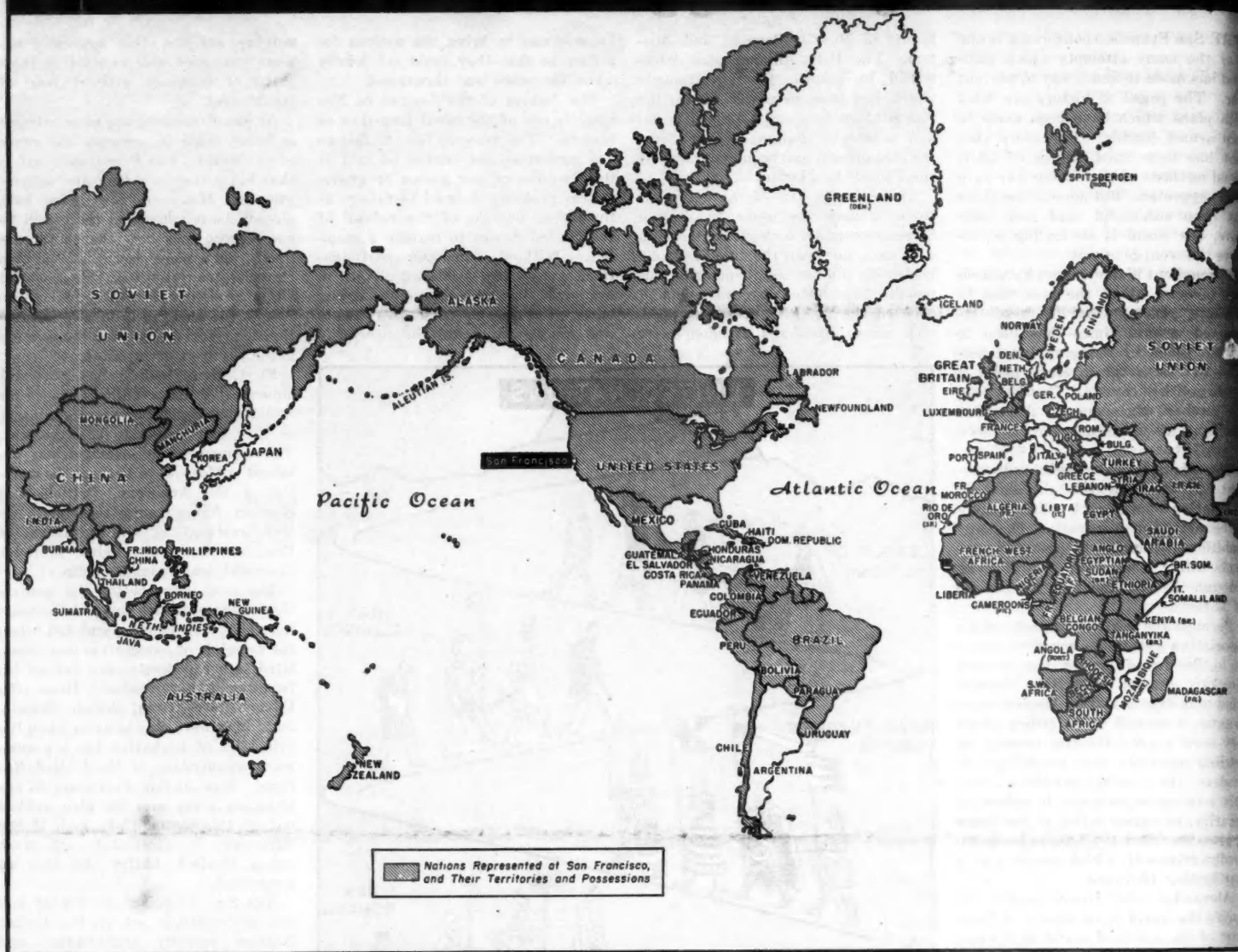
This feeling was so strong in the United States and throughout the world that Woodrow Wilson's plan for a League of Nations met with immediate approval. The idea behind the League of Nations was that peace and order could be preserved only by cooperation among all the nations of the world. The principal task of the

two-thirds majority which would have brought this country into the League of Nations.

Nor did Russia become a member of the League when it was established. Having been weakened by internal revolution and having signed a separate peace with Germany, Communist Russia was regarded as an outlaw nation and was not invited to become a member. In fact, the Allies were determined to prevent the spread of Communism and undertook to overthrow the Communist government of that country.

The powerful nations which did become members of the League—Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—those with the power to preserve peace, never gave wholehearted support to the League. The old jealousies and rivalries which had disturbed the peace for hundreds of years returned. When the first threat to world peace came in 1931, with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, the League did

THE UNITED NATIONS AT SAN FRANCISCO



Two Thousand Million Strong

THE delegates assembling at San Francisco this week represent a total of 46 nations, which together include four-fifths of the world's population and nine-tenths of the land area of the globe. The combined population of the United Nations reaches an estimated 1,750,000,000 people—nearly two thousand million strong. More than 46,500,000 of the earth's 51,000,000 square miles are included in the land area of the United Nations.

Never before in history has a combination of nations included such power and strength. These nations not only possess the overwhelming bulk of the earth's soil, timber, water power, and farm production, but they also own and control most of its mineral wealth, which is necessary to industrial progress.

There are only two important minerals—mercury and potash—of which the United Nations do not hold a dominating share of the world's total wealth. By way of contrast, they possess all or most of the world's rubber, petroleum, tin, nickel, manganese, chromite, vanadium, antimony, and molybdenum, and well over half of such other vital raw materials as coal, iron, aluminum, copper, sulphur, tungsten, and lead. Mobilized for war, this unprecedented economic power has worked miracles for victory. Mobilized for peace, it can raise the living

standards of the world to undreamed-of heights.

The 46 nations represented at San Francisco include all types of peoples, scattered all over the earth's surface and offering a wide contrast in culture, race, and creed. The list, taken alphabetically, includes: Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Soviet Union, Syria, Turkey, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

The list may be extended at the last minute. Poland, of course, is one of the United Nations—the only one not included in the above list—and will certainly be represented if her governmental difficulties can be ironed out in time. A government satisfactory to the United States, Great Britain, and Russia must be set up. According to the Yalta agreement this government is to include representatives of various groups inside Poland and in exile. As yet, the Lublin government has not been revised to include these groups and the United States and Eng-

land are naturally insistent that the changes be made.

Argentina also occupies a special position. That country only recently declared war upon the Axis and its government has now been recognized by the other American republics, as well as by Britain and France. The Argentine government has also signed the Declaration of Chapultepec, thus lining herself up with the other nations of the hemisphere, and has taken other steps to make effective her declaration of war. But the long record of pro-Axis activity on the part of the Argentine government has kept her from the ranks of the United Nations and may keep her from the San Francisco conference.

Both Poland and Argentina will, of course, be admitted to the United Nations security organization when it is set up, whether they go to San Francisco or not. The same is almost certainly true of Denmark and Albania and of such neutral nations as Iceland, Portugal, Afghanistan, Sweden, Switzerland, and Eire. However, there is a question whether the last three of these nations will be willing to abandon their traditional neutrality and accept the responsibility of acting with the other nations to put down aggressors who may arise to threaten the future peace of the world.

The Franco government of Spain is

under a cloud of disgrace and suspicion because of its long record of friendship and aid for the Axis. It is generally thought that Spain will not be admitted to the United Nations until the Franco government is replaced.

Germany and Japan, of course, will have to go through a long period of trial before they can prove their fitness for membership in the family of nations. The other Axis partners—Italy, Finland, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Thailand—will also be excluded for a time, although they will become members much sooner than either Germany or Japan. Italy, in particular, has come a long way in demonstrating a willingness to establish representative government and to aid the Allies.

The effort to build a permanent organization of the United Nations is a bold experiment. The road ahead will be difficult, with many obstacles, but the promise is great. In one of President Roosevelt's last public utterances, he said:

No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years, just as our own Constitution has been. No one can say how long any plan will last. Peace can endure only as long as humanity really insists upon it, and is willing to work for it—and sacrifice for it.

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